

/223 cont./

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[077] Paraguay have, are not seen among the Caluás. Their pipes are usually only of wood and imitate the form of the European ones.

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[142] The music and the musical instruments of the Caluás also speak of the transition from the old to the new culture. An old-style instrument no longer in use is the guarapaí, an analogon of the gualambáu of the remote Caingá groups in Paraguay. The guarapaí, too, is a stringed instrument with one string. It consists of two small interlocked bows. The one has a string made out of coconut fiber; the other, one made out of a /224/ very fine strip of bamboo. In order to play one puts the lips against the fiber bow, which is held with the left hand, while the right one grasps the other bow and plays on the fiber bow.

Other old instruments still used today are the bamboo flute and the gourd rattle; now and then one still sees the signal pipe. This and the rattle are regarded as hallowed instruments. Even today every ceremony is accompanied by rattle music. These rattles are usually equipped with tassels made of cotton or with tufts of feathers; in former times they were very ornate. --

[192] The rattle is the instrument for a man; the one for a woman is the /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here/ tacumbú, a thick, hollow bamboo about a meter long, with which the ground is pounded, producing a peculiar deep sound. -- The dance during religious and solemn greeting ceremonies is accompanied by rattle music and that of the tacumbú. --

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[533] 534
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[439] At the present time many young people have already bought guitars and fiddles from the whites; the accordion too has gained entry among the Indians, and even the gramophone. Last year during my last visit Claudio spoke of getting himself a radio. The rattle is beginning to fall into disfavor among the young generation, and with the expiration of the old ones, the old instruments will probably also gradually disappear.

533 Like almost all Indians, the Caluás are musical. Their old texts are not sung, however, but recited in a peculiarly accented manner.

/230 cont./

1773 It is very interesting to compare, on the one hand, the
184 myth material of the Caiuás that Schaden collected in another
village and from other people with that reported to me by
Claudio and the old people of Farinha Seco and Cerrito, and,
on the other hand, the mythology of the Caiuás with that of the
Apapocuva-Guarani, which Nimuendajú has passed on to us. --
[171] One could, of course, draw still other comparisons, for example,
with the mythology of the Tembucú, but also with mythologies
that lie outside of any Guarani culture, such as that of the
Détoana and Puruborá.

/231/

V. Ceremonies Still Practiced Today.

178 A few remnants of the old ceremonies have been preserved,
574 especially in Panambi and Tehyucé. Thus, the solemn greeting
576 of exalted guests still takes place, in connection with which the
184 men dance with gourd rattles in front of the cross without moving
555 from the spot, and the women pound the ground with their
524 tacumbú. At the same time, the greeting formulas are recited,
[178] adapted to the number and importance of the guests. --

[524] Besides this official greeting, the simple welcome has
been preserved, during which the men and boys of the house re-
ceiving the guest swing the gourd rattle. -- The greeting that the
man of the house, together with his wife, prepares for the guest
is already under modern influence. /Fig. 10 appears here./
177 In connection with it he holds an adorned cross and the gourd
178 rattle in his hand, but without making use of it. He borrows the
574 greeting from the Portuguese language.
576
[192]

178 Only a few of the religious ceremonies have been retained.
796 In honor of Nhanderykéy his song is still sung, usually in front of
533 the cross, accompanied by the music of the rattle and the
778 tacumbú. The song in the original text runs:

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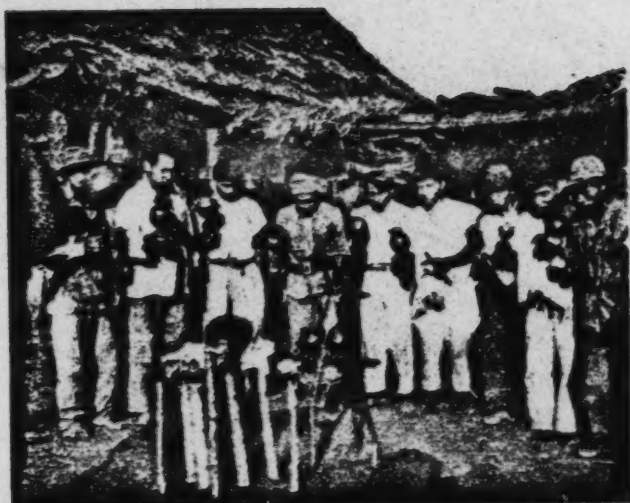


Fig. 10. The gathering and the festival of Yacairá in front of the chief's house. In the foreground the two stands with the cross and the calabash, around it the semicircle of men, singing and swinging the gourd rattles. One of them is holding a cross in his hand.

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The song in the original text runs:

"Hangatú, še rykeý, še reté moátyro, še rykeý,
Hangatú, še rykeý, še curussú moátyro, še rykeý,
Hangatú, še rykeý, še yeguaka moátyro, še rykeý,
Hangatú, še rykeý, še curussú warópyte moátyro, še
rykeý.
Hangatú, še rykeý, še curussú warákambý moátyro, še
rykeý,
Hangatú, še rykeý, še curussú wapétya moátyro, še
rykeý,
Hangatú, še rykeý, še curussú warópyta moátyro, še
rykeý,
Hangatú, še rykeý, se curussú kuákuahá moátyro, še
rykeý."

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In connection with it, it is to be noted first of all that le rykey is used instead of Nhanderykey. Although Nhanderykey is the name of the god formerly called Cuarahy, its meaning must not be overlooked: nhande means "we," "our"; rykey is the elder brother; hence, nhandery-rykey means = our elder brother. Thus it is understandable that in the song le = I, mine, takes the place of "our." I shall now give the translation of the song:

"I wish, my elder brother, that my body be pure, my elder brother,

I wish, m. e. br., that my head be pure, m. e. br.,

I wish, m. e. br., that my diadem be pure, m. e. br.,

I wish, m. e. br., that my cross be pure, m. e. br.,

I wish, m. e. br., that my chest be pure, m. e. br.,

I wish, m. e. br., that the arms of my cross be pure,
m. e. br.,

I wish, m. e. br., that the foot of my cross be pure,
m. e. br.,

I wish, m. e. br., that my abdominal belt be pure,
m. e. br."

This song, a sort of invocation, is addressed to Nhanderykey, to the elder brother of the Caluás, and asks for purity of the body and of the articles of adornment. Purifying power is attributed to the god. If in this connection one keeps it in mind that this god is identical with Cuarahy, the sun, one understands the deeper meaning of the invocation. Purifying and healing power is generally attributed to the sun. Hence in this song are revealed remnants of an old sun worship which probably was formerly widespread and more clearly marked. -- There is a second song that speaks even more clearly for this interpretation; it runs

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"Hoëri yahá, hoëri yahá, ðe resá.
Nhanderykeý mbaraká ðe resá,
Nhanderykeý ha dzyroký ðe resá,
Nhanderykeý yeguaka ðe resá,
Nhanderykeý kuakuahá ðe resá,
Nhanderykeý tembetá ðe resá."

Translation:

"Let us go, let us go, he has seen me.
Our elder brother, with the rattle he saw me,
Our elder brother saw me dance,
Our elder brother, with the diadem he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the abdominal belt he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the lip-plug he saw me."

This says that Nhanderykeý has seen the Caluás paying him respect with rattle, diadem, abdominal belt, and lip-plug, as custom demands, dancing in honor of the god. Here too, of course, the sun god is meant, the one who sees everything and in whose honor human beings adorn themselves and dance. --

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[796]
[798] The festival of Yacairá, whose original significance as the god of night, darkness, and death the Caluás have probably forgotten in part, goes somewhat differently. They attribute to him the weather and fertility. A certain variety of maize, called [622] saporó, is dedicated to him. He is venerated /233/ nowadays in connection with a gathering called by the chief. During it he combines other aims with the religious celebration. The inhabitants of all the villages appear in front of the house of the foremost chief. The priests are clad with the badges of their office, the other men carry crosses and gourd rattles, the women their tacumbú. Two stands are erected in front of the houses. Against [793] one is propped a large, adorned cross, and a few rattles are laid [792] beside it. On the other stand rests a magnificent calabash displayed with the finest cotton fabric and hung with fringe. Inside [534] it is a second, smaller calabash encircled with bands and feather [237]

796 /233 cont./

[237] disks. In this there are saporó maize kernels. Over the large
• [533] bowl lies a cover made out of feather disks. The men form a

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Fig. 11. The row of women with the tacumbú dances and pounds with their instrument. This is done in connection with both religious ceremonies and greeting ceremonies.

semicircle around the stands and sing to the music of the rattles. Then the chief steps forward with his request and in connection with it also speaks of old and new customs.

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796 Thereupon the priest starts officiating. His followers place a white cloth on the ground, upon which he pours the contents of the calabash. He now speaks of Yacairá, who makes the saporó maize grow.

[778] At the last meeting of this kind, which I attended, he
[784] spoke of a great drought which would set in as punishment from Yacairá because the Caluás were deserting the ancient practices and turning toward new customs and new religions. He was also punishing human beings for clearing the forests. The saporó maize would grow for another ten years, but no longer. -- The second priest and a few old men spoke in the same vein,

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urging a return to Yacairá and the old gods. They then recited the song in honor of Yacairá. The text is as follows:

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"Yahá yahečá itymbý areteý Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-reté Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-ridžui Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-ryakua Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymby-rieté-ryakua Yacairá."

In continual repetition, as is customary, it says only this: "Let us go to see the maize plant of Yacairá." Then the parts of the maize plant are enumerated.

[537]

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The above-mentioned meeting ended after the chief spoke again and referred to the new times, to the necessity for adaptation and schooling for the young people. -- The assemblage then withdrew amid singing and returned to their villages.

[793]

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As long as the old priests of magic live, the ceremonies described will probably still be celebrated. But then their disappearance is to be expected, and the songs about Nhanderykey and Yacairá and many other things will fall into oblivion.

VI. Influence of the Environment.

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Schaden, in his latest book, reports on this subject in detail. He examines the reactions of the various Guaraní tribes of Brazil to their contact with the whites and the possibilities of their acculturation. In Chapter 8 he turns his attention to religion in particular and confirms that the tribal religion, in the main, continues to exist. To be sure, many Indians let themselves be baptized and call themselves Christians, but their Christianity is merely external. At this point Schaden indulges in interesting psychological opinions. He comes to the conclusion that the unique culture of the Guaraní tribes of Brazil has received a blow to its vital nerve and that therefore all these tribes will be able to exist for a few decades at most.

[114]

- 584/77 cont.: Then the parents of both agree with the bride and groom and with the ñanderú on the day of the
- [192] ofiomomendá, or marriage, a celebration for which one does not
- 585 use the name ñemongará (1). The ñanderú performs the mar-
- 192 riage ceremony in the oýguatsú (house of religious celebrations) at
- [622] dusk. Relatives and friends attend; the men take their mbaraká and the women go provided with takuá. Men and women who have djeatsaa also take them. The bridegroom must have djeatsaa and mbaraká; the bride, djeatsaa and (a) kanguaá (diadem of feathers from the toucan, peacock /Port. pavão, probably the curassow/, crow -- even from domestic birds) and
- 585 takuá. Two or three candles of wax from wild bees are lighted,
- [622] and everyone sings and dances. During the ceremony the ñanderú blows on the breasts of the bride and groom; then he passes both hands over the head and bodies of both the bride and groom. Following this, they drink maize cauim made by the women (the bride may help in making it); they also drink honey of
- [608] wild bees; sometimes they also take food. At the ceremony there are two couples of godparents; one for the bridegroom, the other one for the bride. Anybody may be chosen for this
- [533] purpose. At home, then, the celebration of the marriage is held, in which there is dancing to the music of the civilized. Lacking
- [177] any other instrument, they make a flute of taquara (mimbý). --
- 585 Besides the ceremony in the oýguatsú, obligatory for all married
- 177 couples, there is also the marriage in the Catholic church, which
- [192] takes place after the first one and to which not all submit; the
- [608] godparents that act in it are not Indians, but civilized persons who have friendly relations with the couple getting married.
- The marriage in the Catholic church is followed by a celebration at the home of the bride's father, as is the custom also among
- [608] the civilized people of the region. Some also marry at the registry office, with civilized godparents, "so that they will not mock the Indians."

/121 cont. /

774 (also with reference to the living individual, which I regard as
828 doubtful). The ayvú are an incarnation of tavýterã, celestial
[776] beings or spirits ("ñandedjára"), which, in the religious sphere,
are identified with the Kayová tribe itself; there are, by the
way, several categories of tavýterã, one of them called
775 verândydjú. After death, the ayvúkuê of the adult goes to
[776] meet Hyapúguasú, god of thunder. It also goes to yváyñemondehê,
where it puts on resplendent garments; the place is also called
kafingueú rupã ("place of the souls of the dead"), which, how-
ever, does not mean abode, because the souls do not reside at a
fixed point of the firmament, traversing, on the contrary, all the
celestial regions in the company of the gods. For the state of
[192] happiness of the dead, they gave me the denomination ñemyrô,
a term that in the common Guaraní means "to be offended." --
The ayvúkuê of a child, contrary to what happens with that of
[776] an adult, is immediately transformed into a bird (called
guyrárovádjú), in order to fly without delay to the presence of
ñanderý ("our mother"), who seems to be the lady of the cele-
stial region called yrukitytétã. The less good part of the soul,
[828] the one that becomes anguêry, is being formed during the earthly
existence of the individual. As the child is "innocent" and "has
not traversed places" (as I heard it said in Amambai), it has no
anguêry.

782 3. The prayer, manner of union between the world of
796 the living and the supernatural one

[192] The recourse always at hand that the Guaraní has at his
disposal to provoke and at the same time to give vent to his re-
ligious experiences is the /122/ porahêi, or prayer. The
[533] porahêi is always sung and requires the accompaniment of
[534] mbaraká and takuápú for marking the rhythm of the dance.
Song, dance (djiroký), and instrumental sound thus constitute
a unity. The porahêi is sometimes communitarian depending

/128 cont./

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123 It is not easy to obtain explanations about the practices of sorcery, and much less to be present at them, as no one wants /III. X-XII appear here/ /129/ the suspicion that he uses [184] this kind of resource to fall upon him. The most reserved ones in this sense are the Mbã.

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1782 Among the Kayová, black magic seems to invade in some way the domain of religion: they have a "prayer to do evil," called ñeëgaráí, which the individual sing alone (to the sound of the maraca, according to Marçal); in order to neutralize the harmful effect, there is a "good prayer." They have magic songs, called ñembóévaí or tekópapá; they are sung (softly and without [533] mbaraká) in front of the track, the clothes, or any object belonging to the person that one wants to strike; the latter becomes sick and dies. The defect of these chants is that they "do not take hold in the civilized"; on the other hand, there is always the danger that the latter can use it against the Indians. The white man is considered immune against native sorcery in general.

[782] The Kayová also use the name ñeëgaráí referred to above (along with mbórahêí ivaf) to designate a prayer that is resorted to in order to "heat this earth" and destroy the mbaépotxý, that is, the evil spirits that inhabit it (Paí Jose). Perhaps it was with mbórahêí ivaf that Paí Chiquinho of Panambi wanted to destroy the world, when with his fellow villagers he performed the mad dance on the occasion of the official parceling out of the lands occupied by his group. More than once, by the way, I heard the name mbaépotxý for designating some white man hated by the Kayová.

[782] In the opinion of the Indians, the "prayers to do evil" still do not constitute sorcery. They told me that "sorcery" properly speaking is called mohéí vaf, done with food remains (orange and banana peelings, etc.) and slower in action. They did not want to teach me the technique.

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755 Among the Kayová of Amambai death by sorcery is talked about a great deal. They tend to accuse in this sense the person who has made the last visit to the sick person. The victim avenges himself by means of practices of countersorcery. (The wife of the former officer in charge of the Posto Indígena Benjamim Constant

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 169]

/141 cont./

776 Joño Samuel has special sympathy for São Gonçalo, a
796 music-playing and fun-loving saint. He told me that sometimes
789 the Guaraní perform the dance of São Gonçalo. When it rains a
782 great deal during a puxirêo /co-operative work party/, a "promise"
159 is made in order for him to stop the rain. "The first tune is his,
the guitar player has to sing his tune first, the saint is in the
middle of the table, between two flowers. An old man and an
old woman come, dancing, to kiss the saint three times. Then
his tune ends. He is then taken away and put in his place on
the little altar. And the fun goes on." At a puxirêo in Bananal,
when they made the "promise," São Gonçalo performed the
miracle of stopping the rain.

159 Although he actually professes the tribal religion, Joño
•533 Samuel prides himself in being a "tocador de viola" guitar player,
776 as his father was; and "to be a guitar player" is to venerate the
771 saints. On a certain occasion a "believer," the son of Da.
Limpada, appeared in Joño Samuel's house; he was angry about
the images and told him to "stop worshiping these saints of clay,
of paper, and of cardboard." Before such an insinuation, which
seemed offensive to him, Joño Samuel invoked the fact that his
father had already been a guitar player and "already had some
prayers of his own in that religion."

771 /142/ The Guaraní, particularly in the case of old individ-
778 uals, does not always refer without inhibitions to the Christian or
177 pseudo-Christian representations and practices adopted in more
159 or less recent times. In Poýdjú's house there was an image of
São Bosco, if I am not mistaken, but it was said to be São José;
in the room of the married granddaughter there was a small oratory
with a crucifix and other images of saints. The images were all
provided with a djeatsaá made of sewing thread and in front of
them were put small coins to prevent illness. Poýdjú did not like
it when reference was made to these things and even seemed
somewhat ashamed of them. And for the granddaughter the de-
votional value, if it existed (as perhaps could be inferred from
the djeatsaá), was in any case insignificant in comparison to the
magical function of the crucifix and the images.

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Chapter IX

Observations about the Music and the Folklore

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The love of the Guaraní for the art of music has been known since Jesuit times. The missionaries have made good use of it in the work of catechizing. On the other hand, the poverty of musical instruments integrated into the tribal culture, some of them simply rhythm markers, is surprising.

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The most important ones are the gourd rattle, or mbaraká, and the rhythm sticks, or takúá(pú), used in all the religious ceremonies. In the three subgroups of the tribe, the men mark time for the religious dances and prayers with the mbaraká, while the women accompany them with the takupú. In only one village, in Itariri, did I participate in religious dances, directed by a Mbáá ñanderú who replaced the gourd mbaraká (or also mbaraká 1) with a guitar of industrial origin (yvyrá mbaraká or simply mbaraká), which is known in other villages only for playing secular music. The ñanderú referred to only struck the strings to mark the rhythm. The ceremonial use of the maraca by the men and of the rhythm stick by the women is one of the many signs of unity that link the Guaraní to Chaco cultures. It even seems that all the Guaraní musical instruments are found in the Chaco and farther west (1).

1. /The notes for Ch. IX are given on p. 160 in the original source./ The study by Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 164 to 183, is elucidative in this respect. Concerning the rhythm sticks, see Métraux, 1927 and 1928a, pp. 215-216.

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As an instrument characteristic of the Mbáá, the mbarimbáu, a monochord that consists of a bow measuring almost a meter in length, provided with a string made of four or five threads of line, merits mention; one of the ends is placed in the mouth; one blows with variable intensity and plays the string with the fingers. The bucal cavity itself acts as resonance box. An instrument also existing in the Chaco, as well as among the Patagonians and

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- 534 one is of yrukü y (considered a male plant, so they told me) or
 [824] yvyrá rãkã f, with a string of pinó ryví (twisted). Without
 blowing, it is played with the feminine bow (embirekó) on the
 masculine one (iména) (contrary to the common position in
 sexual relations). One end of the male bow is placed in the
 mouth; the placing of the four fingers of the left hand (from the
 index finger to the little one) produces the difference in the
 sounds. The mouth serves as a resonance box. Before playing,
 the string of the male bow is moistened with the lips.
- 534 The guyrapá f has its "owner" (spirit), the guyrapá f djáretá
 829 (the ending retá, which in general indicates a collective, was
 [176] given here as untranslatable). It is used for sexual magic; there
 is almost always fear of playing it in the presence of women, be-
 cause they would become "crazy" (overly amorous); to the extent
 of avoiding their seeing it. According to the information of
 [178] Marçal de Souza, the guyrapá f would have been used formerly by
 the Kayová in the religious feasts, but in view of the "abuse" of
 the young people, using it "to try out new songs of fun," i.e.,
 the chicha songs, the old people, irritated by the "profanation,"
 stopped using the instrument in their ceremonies. Unfortunately I
 did not succeed in obtaining more precise data on the matter, in-
 teresting perhaps with regard to acculturation.
- 534 /155/ Acculturation phenomena, with regard to music, is to
 533 be observed in almost all the villages. The young people play
 177 Paraguayan music and sing "guaranías" and, particularly in the
 Paulista villages, the latest carnival tunes. To own a good guitar
 [554] is a source of great pride; to acquire an accordion is the impos-
 sible dream of many youths. Some Kayová boys show the desire
 to have a guitar or banjo, very cleverly making for themselves
 miniature guitars provided with sewing thread. Perhaps the taste,
 533 the quasi fascination by exotic music and strange melodies should
 177 be noted once more in Guaraní history as active forces in the sub-
 182 stitution of culture ideals, such as happened with the Jesuits' plain
 singing of three centuries ago.

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Before concluding these notes, I should also mention the acculturative function of the folklore in the process of partial homogenization observed in the contact among the Guarani of the different subtribes. While, for example, in Itariri few Nandéva individuals showed any propensity to let themselves be influenced by the religious ideas of the Mbiá recently arrived from Paraguay, there seems to be little reluctance, particularly among the youths, concerning the acceptance of their more or less secular songs. Just as they knew the latest carnival tunes, the young people sang the wanzas brought by the strangers. I shall reproduce some examples here:

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533

1. Erú una karéra mbóguédjy nderyvý. Togustáguatá. Opáma písta. (Bring a chair for your little brother to sit down. He can walk himself. That's the end of the fun.)
2. Kutxára ñomfaré, kutxára ñomfaré, rorñoridjü rorñ rýmñ:
ararakñe nde yguaryrü riré. (He stole the spoon, he stole the spoon ... a leg, on the wooden branch, in the water vessel.)
3. Pétguá mirí djaroguatá(va) (or: eroguatá), yvyrá-í, mbaraká katú /sic/. We go around smoking the little pipe, walking stick and mbaraká katú.)
4. Txereti mombyry: ndavýai. Avaká porñ repoti ndaúññire:
djuruá mbotavýve yvýguaré. (My place is very far away: I have not become used to it here. I do not want to eat the litter of pretty oxen: the Brazilian wants to deceive people.)
5. Édjü. txetirü í, djadjogueroá: alparivé rió: rupépa. rupépa.
ityryrü káf, ityryrü káf. (Come, my comrade, let us fight: it is my error: urupé /a kind of tree/ urupé, liver /Port. fígado, liver, bravery/ of macaco.) Judging by the explanations, it is a matter of oreilha-de-pau /ear tree/.
6. Oré oroópotá pará ovái: oró ú ñuñ takuary-porñ. (We want to go to the other side of the sea, in order to suck sugar cane.)
7. Djateré katú raé, txeryvý, pará ovái, djaá djloridjý, djaá yvý reé. (Let us two together, my nephew, go across the sea, let us take ourselves, well let us go -- from the earth -- together.)

/180/

- 539 8. Aguedy. tĩpĩ tĩpĩ: djadjapó pĩta porĩ. djadjapó pĩta, overĩ.
 539 (Come down, son of God -- of thunder --, let us go to have a
 nice feast, let us go to have a feast, there is lightning.)

These texts, whose linguistic analysis does not belong here, re-
 mind one, in their syncope form, of the guahĩ songs, common
 at all the chĩcha feasts of the Kayová. For our study, however, they
 more importantly reveal, as is expressed in several of them, a
 [128] preoccupation about crossing the sea in order to find happiness in
 Paradise, a subject to which the following chapter will be devoted.
 000 /The notes for Ch. IX appear here on p. 180 in the original
 source./

/181/

Chapter X

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The Myth of Paradise in Guaraní Culture and Life

It seems undisputable that the mystical spirit dominant in all
 the sectors of Guaraní life can be understood on its own terms only
 when one considers the place of cataclysmology in the conjunction
 of mythical representations. The myths of the Flood, of the Uni-
 versal Fire, and other cataclysms of the past are stories of exemplar
 function that are projected into the future as dangers hanging
 frighteningly over the destiny of humanity. The earth on which we
 live is condemned to destruction in the more or less near future,
 an expectation that cannot fail to be a reason for panic for those
 who live on it. Hence the psychic need to procure a plank of
 salvation, which the Guaraní finds in the myth of the Land without
 Evil, today a genuine element of his culture (1).

[771]

1. /The notes for Ch. X appear on pp. 176-178
 in the original source./ With the statement that
 the myth of the Land without Evil is a genuinely
 Guaraní element, it is not intended to ignore the

648 or inefficient. This is ordinarily no more than the same Indians might learn
 777 from the settler for whom they work. The *encarregado* is among some of the
 241 Indians more than the ordinary settler, however, and whatever influences
 657 he may exert are, therefore, more intensive and frequent than those of most
 other Brazilians.

648 The official attitude of the SPI toward religion and missionization is
 657 neutral. They do not themselves catechize the Indians as a part of the policy
 797 of the *Serviço*, and they are indifferent, varying in given local cases from per-
 sonal friendliness to mild antagonism, toward the missionaries. These the
Serviço personnel often regard with a view similar to that of many field
 ethnographers.¹¹⁴ Rondon himself and many of his associates are members
 of the Brazilian so-called "*Igreja Positivista*" ("Positivist Church"), and the
Serviço in general has the reputation of being oriented philosophically in that
 direction. This is perhaps surprising in a Catholic country like Brazil where
 in many other respects the government feels under no restraint as far as
 making large official concessions to Rome.

As for the Cayuá, they seem to be the somewhat unusual case (for Catholic
 countries) in which Protestant missionaries have become more thoroughly
 established than Catholic ones. At least two of the three SPI posts of the
 Cayuá have Protestant missionaries, long established. At one of these, União,
 there are no other missionaries and no other church of any kind; and at the
 other post, Dourados, a Protestant group has a much more extensive and well-
 rooted establishment than the Catholics, with a resident physician, an orphan-
 age and nursery-school, and a good name in the region. (The physician, in
 [59] fact, is the only qualified person of his profession for many miles. In this
 respect, the Indians are, therefore, much better cared for than the local Bra-
 zilian settlers, except as the latter may in emergencies enlist the aid of the
 mission.)

*177 No great inroads of conversion seem to have been made, but the writer
 797 is qualified to speak only of the more southerly post at União. There the
 (female) missionary said frankly she did not have a single convert. The
 [294] missions, nevertheless, exert a certain influence even without nominal conver-
 sion, both in the spiritual and secular spheres. At União the mission house is a
 center for a sizeable circle of women who gather to learn to operate hand
 sewing machines and incidentally to do much of their sewing work on machines
 [562] which the mission owns. Because this missionary is a woman, her effect is
 notably greater in the woman's sphere than among the men of the group.
 (There was formerly a male American missionary and his wife stationed
 here.) Evangelical hymns translated into Guarani (for the general Paraguayan
 area) are taught as well as Christian precepts and homilies, sewing, gardening,
 and cooking. Any lasting effects of this work, however, are probably reduced

[123] ¹¹⁴ Nor are they initially disposed to greet the ethnographer with open arms; some very
 amateurish individuals representing themselves as ethnographers have not helped the situation.

somewhat by the fact that many of the local Brazilians live in a manner not markedly different, in the missionary view, from that of the present Cayuá. (This is not true of a majority.) The direct influence of the mission here, like that of the SPI post itself, is concentrated in the one local Cayuá group and scarcely filters beyond, except by verbal account. Much of the nominal adherence of some of the local Indians to the mission seems to be based on its material advantages. The use of sewing machines, gifts of food and clothing, and suggestions concerning remedies, health, and particulars of domestic art are the reward of those who attend the prayer meetings and informal services, and who in general associate themselves with the mission.¹¹⁶ Summing up the mission influence in the South to date, it could certainly not yet be called profound, even among the Cayuá where the mission is located, and it is largely absent elsewhere. 177* 797

The *Inspetoria* do SPI which administers the Indian affairs of the Cayuá area is located at Campo Grande and was one of the first, if not the first, to be established. The local post which has jurisdiction over the village of Taquapiri, the particular group from which materials central to this monograph were secured, was established rather recently, about 1930. This post, "Benjamin Constant"—SPI posts are generally named for famous men of Brazil, is some twenty miles distant from Taquapiri over a two-rut oxcart road, also passable in the dry season and with difficulty by motor trucks.¹¹⁷ 648 657

The children of Taquapiri do not go to school and very likely do not even know what school is, though some of their cousins twenty miles away at the post are at least aware of schools.¹¹⁷ The Cayuá of Taquapiri may be visited by the *encarregado* as few as two or three times a year.¹¹⁸ Such visits entail [871]

¹¹⁶ There may, however, be some interest of a spiritual sort as well. A group of Cayuá men from our village, including a shaman in training, made the twenty-five mile trip with us to the post one time on foot, partly to visit the missionary, to hear her play her accordion and sing hymns with Guarani words. There was, probably, as much musical interest—unusual songs with Guarani words—as spiritual interest. [756] [533]

¹¹⁷ Motor trucks pass by Taquapiri once or twice a week during the dry season, or less often, on their way to Nhu Verd. Taquapiri is a good half-mile from the road, and the Indians know the trucks principally only by sight and sound—they are simply of another world. When as many as two trucks a day go by—as happened once or twice during our stay, it is stated by the local settlers that something unusual must be afoot. There are no public garages or fuelling places, that the writer knows of, in the entire region because there are not enough motor vehicles to require it. Gasoline is simply carried along by the trucks themselves or may occasionally be bought in cans in some of the larger towns. [648] [494]

¹¹⁷ The Cayuá children are not greatly different from many local Brazilian children in this ignorance of schools, however, for probably a majority of the latter will grow up and die with no formal schooling. There is no school of any sort for the settlers in the region about Taquapiri and only a poor elementary one at União itself, the nearest "center," but too far to travel for schooling. [871] [648]

¹¹⁸ There was no occasion to observe this frequency. We were merely told by the *encarregado* that he made it a point to visit Taquapiri every few months. He came twice during our entire five month stay, one time being when he accompanied us to visit Taquapiri initially.

games with rubber balls. These ball games were still popular in some Jesuit missions until the 18th century.

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Today the *Caingú* play with a maize-leaf shuttlecock, which they throw at each other and try to keep in the air as long as possible.

Musical Instruments.—Among the ancient *Guarani* and among their modern descendants, the gourd rattle and the stamping tube are the most sacred religious instruments. In the *Apapocuvu-Guarani* tribe, rattles are handled only by men. Their "voice," i.e., their sound, is believed to be endowed with sacred power. Shamans are capable of shaking rattles according the most varied rhythmic patterns. The stamping tube is a bamboo section closed at one end, trimmed with feathers, and engraved with checkerboard designs. It is an instrument reserved to women who pound it against the ground to produce a dull thud which marks the cadence of their dances.

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The flutes of the ancient *Guarani* were often made of the long bones of their slain enemies. There is no information in our sources about their other musical instruments.

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There are few types of musical instruments among modern *Caingú*. The *Pañ* and *Chiripa* have musical bows which they play either with their fingers or with a fiddle bow. The transverse flute with six stops and a blowhole was adopted by *Mbyá* men in post-Columbian times. A curious type of panpipe used only by women has been reported among modern *Caingú*. It consists of five bamboo tubes of different sizes which are not bound together, but are simply held with both hands. Spanish drums and guitars are now supplanting native musical instruments.

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Narcotics.—Yerba maté, or "Paraguay tea," though now characteristic of Paraguay and used daily by the *Guarani*, who sip it through a reed from a small gourd, is scarcely mentioned in the old literature. The aboriginal *Guarani* seem to have regarded it as a magic herb taken only by shamans. Modern *Caingú* collect maté in the forest and prepare it in their villages, drying the leaves for a whole night on a platform over a fire.

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Tobacco was smoked in the form of cigars or in pipes. Clay pipes have been found archeologically, and the *Caingú* still used them not long ago. Like some *Chiriguano* pipes, those of the *Caingú* had their bowls ornamented with a sort of crest.

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Like the *Tupinamba* and other Brazilian tribes, the *Guarani* celebrated all the main events of life with drinking bouts: The return of a successful hunting or fishing expedition, harvest, and the execution of a prisoner. Their favorite beverage (*kaguaí*) was prepared mainly with maize but also with sweet potatoes and more rarely with manioc. Fermentation was activated by the addition of chewed corn or leaves of *caa-tory* (*Physurus* sp.). Modern *Caingú* prepare mead, which may be quite strong.

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After death the two souls separate; the ayvucué generally tries to reach the Land-Without-Evil, but may linger dangerously near his former home. The animal soul, too, is likely to turn into a fearful ghost. To drive the ayvucué away, the shamans organize a dance in which two opposite groups of dancers, by running to and fro and passing each other at full speed, so confuse the soul that it is lost in a maze. The shaman then is able to deliver it to Tupã, who takes it to the Land of the Dead. The animal soul has to be attacked with weapons and exterminated like a dangerous animal (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 305).

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The *Caingú* feel themselves surrounded by spirits or demons, who appear in human or animal forms. They are the masters or the protectors of animals, plants, trees, water places, and winds. These genii, if offended, can be harmful.

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Ceremonials.—Among the *Apapocuva-Guaraní*, any trouble, any anxiety felt by the community or the shaman, or even the prospect of a collective enterprise stimulates a ceremonial dance. The performers stand in a line, the women on one end, jumping up and down on the same spot and pounding their stamping tubes; the men on the other end, shaking their rattles, slightly stooping, knees bent, throwing their feet forward and backward in a rapid tempo. The shaman faces the dancers and walks, runs, or bounces in front of them brandishing his rattle. Each woman in turn performs a solo dance in front of the line of the men, and sometimes she may invite a man to dance opposite her (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 347).

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Great emphasis is placed on orientation; the dancers always face the east and, when the entire line revolves, it invariably moves north, west, and south, describing a perfect ellipse. Dancers often hold ceremonial clubs, trimmed with basketry sheaths. The shaman carries a ritual stick. Dances take place in special fence-enclosed huts, which open toward the east and serve as storehouses for the ritual paraphernalia.

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The most important *Apapocuva* ceremony is celebrated by the whole tribe just before harvest. Cultivated plants, wild fruits, and game are exhibited near candles and, after 4 days of ritual dancing, are sprinkled with holy water. The assistants at the ritual are also baptized on the same occasion. The object of the festivities, which are characterized by a spirit of harmony and pleasant cheerfulness, is to guard men and food from evil influences. The *Caingú* offer cakes made with the first ripe maize to Tupã.

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SHAMANISM

No amount of training can make an *Apapocuva-Guaraní* a shaman if he has not been supernaturally inspired with magic chants. To every adult male or female sooner or later a dead relative reveals a chant, which the recipient eagerly teaches to the rest of the community. Its possession confers a certain immunity against accidents. A shaman is a man who

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A shaman is a man who

owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-fledged shamans. By his "voltes" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

The ancient *Guarani* and even many modern groups assign disease to the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-Guarani* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

Among ancient *Guarani* great medicine men worked miracles by their chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones, kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also interfere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfortunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their exuviae.

MYTHOLOGY

The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guarani* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he